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CV:

Kul Bhushan Mohtra was born on 9th Sep, 1957 in a village Amuwala in Kathua district.

Matric from BOSE, Jammu and Adeeb from AMU. Has been awarded Honorary Professor by School of Liberal Art & Languages, Shobhit University, Gangoh, Distt. Saharanpur, U.P.

Director General, Raja Ram Mohan Roy Library Foundation nominated him as his nominee in the Committee for purchasing of Books for UT Jammu & Kashmir. Incharge of Nanaji Deshmukh Library & Documentation Department at BJP state HQ in J&K.

Actively engaged in political, social, charitable and religious activities. Always striving to serve the poor and downtrodden of the society.

Main works-

A saga of Sacrifices: Praja Parishad Movement in J&K

100 Documents: A reference book J&K, Mission Accomplished

A Compendium of Icons of Jammu & Kashmir & our Inspiration (English)

Jammu Kashmir ki Sangarsh Gatha (Hindi)

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# JAMMU AND KASHMIR GOVERNMENT

Articles

Department

FILE NO: 59

Gorbachev Phenomenon: Heights of Glory;  
Shattered Dreams (Donated by Dr. Vidya Bhushan)

The Suggestive Measures to Combat Militancy  
in Kashmir - A Critical Appraisal  
(Dr. Sheetal Gupta & Dr. Vidya Bhushan)

**SUBJECT**




# Gorbachov Phenomenon: Heights of Glory; Shattered Dreams

The largely bloodless upsurge in Eastern Europe in the course of a few months was indeed a historic event. It marked a distinct setback to Communism and a triumph of democracy. It was Mr Mikhail Gorbachov who unintentionally set the ball rolling through his Perestroika and Glasnost; these concepts are responsible for the democratic winds that have changed the face of Europe.

Mr Gorbachov was widely hailed as "Man of the Decade", the "Boldest man in world politics today" and saviour of the Soviet people. In a short time he has built bridges with the West. His all-round success and continuance at the top is earnestly desired by the USA, Britain and other countries. He symbolises the aspirations of his people, despite the recent setbacks some of which have shattered his dreams of a mighty, fully united Super Power that would outclass the rival giant in every arena.

This special feature presents the story of his rise to eminence, examines his technique and analyses the factors that have eroded his image in his own country and made his pet themes lustreless.

## I. Perestroika & Glasnost

An earnest political reformer right from his early years, Mr Gorbachov reaffirmed his pledges on March 15, 1990, when he was elected, by secret ballot, the Soviet Union's first Executive President. He acquired sweeping powers, vested in the new office, to push through radical reforms and maintain civil peace. He took a pledge to use these powers not for self-glorification but for the interests of the country and the people. Addressing the Congress of People's Deputies, Mr Gorbachov said it was his sacred duty to use the powers to attain concord, mutual respect, civil peace and harmony. The assurance came in the wake of increasing inter-ethnic violence and

warnings of civil war.

In the foreign policy sphere the German question figured prominently in his address. Everything must be done to ensure that "war does not emanate from the German soil again". Mr Gorbachov also made a brief one-line reference to India, recalling the long-standing relations between the two countries. He hinted that sooner or later he would be giving up the top Communist Party post. This combination today and in the immediate future was dictated by the interests of Perestroika.

Mr Gorbachov received 59.2 per cent of the total votes cast, 9.2 per cent more than the minimum 50 per cent required to get the job.

Through Perestroika (restructuring of the entire administration as well as the socio-economic set up of the Soviet Union) and Glasnost (openness of the Government and end of secrecy) Mr Mikhail Gorbachov hoped to bring about a major revolution in the country. These concepts and the reforms they envisaged were initially welcomed by the people who were eager for a change from the old Leninism and Stalinism. The world admired his statesmanship and vision; but at home he found himself neck deep in problems—nationalist, ethnic, social and economic. Many people even felt doubtful whether he would be able to control events.

Lithuania has declared independence and Communists of all hues were trounced in elections. The results of the voting in the Soviet heartland, the Slav republics of Russia, Byelorussia and Ukraine, indicate the growing unpopularity of the Communist Party. Mr Gorbachov rightly felt that he must change his power base from the Communist Party to being constitutionally elected Head of State in order to ensure that the party's unpopularity does not affect him.

Mr Gorbachov's assumption of the Executive Presidency, as well as the abolition of the party's monopoly on power, marks a big shift in the political structure of the Soviet Union with the party being downgraded after being the sole bastion of power in the Socialist state. Mr Gorbachov thus bypassed the conservative elements. He faces a formidable task which he acknowledged by making a solemn pledge to use his new powers to push through radical reforms and maintain civil peace. Unless he is able to revamp the economy to fill the empty shelves the Soviet consumer faces and persuade the different ethnic groups to live in peace, he might turn out to be a mere meteor on the world stage.

Several explanations have been given for the virtual failure of Mr Gorbachov's policies so far.

One, the speed of Perestroika and Glasnost was rash. The reforms were too sweeping to be managed smoothly. As a commentator put it, the reforms opened up the flood-gates, and the entire society was quickly submerged. A slow and steady pace of change and a step-by-step approach would have been more feasible.

Two, the first two years (1985-87) were wasted in debates on the past and on how to move ahead. Meanwhile, restructuring of the economy lagged behind because of the inadequacies of the programme adopted for its acceleration. It was only in the beginning of 1988 that Perestroika really began to be implemented. By then far too many expectations had been aroused.

Three, Mr Gorbachov's choice of institutions for political Perestroika was faulty. He did not begin by restructuring the CPSU, the very pivot of the entire system; he concentrated on government organs and the apex bodies like Soviet Parliament. It must be admitted, however, that Perestroika in government organs, including the



apex bodies, moved ahead remarkably, with power gradually shifting to them.

Four, Mr Gorbachov has shown a willingness for compromise. But he was indecisive; perhaps he was uncertain about the party's and the people's reaction. Meanwhile, a series of crises developed in the republics. In February, 1988, warning bells sounded loud when ethnic conflict between the Azerbaijanis and Armenians erupted over Nagorno Karabakh. Meanwhile the unrest among nationalities has spread in Uzbekistan, Georgia, Tajikistan, among the Tartars, and in the Baltic republics. By mid-January, 1990, after the Baku tragedy and Lithuania's demand for secession, the fragile structure of the living standard has taken a nose-dive with growing anger all round. In fact, all evidence points to an unprecedented economic crisis gradually engulfing the entire country. It is evident that the traditional sources of power and authority in the USSR and the structure built on them have been totally shaken.

Despite the threat he faces, Mr Gorbachov can still make it. The truth of the matter is that the widening schism in Soviet society needs to be managed in a democratic manner through more than one political party, and not by the CPSU alone. The fast moving events in the Soviet Union have made the introduction of a multi-party system an imperative necessity. It is widely felt that half-hearted measures and tactical compromises should be replaced by concrete steps for institutionalising the multi-party system. This process would probably buy time for Mr Gorbachov to retain some of his lost opportunities.

**What went wrong:** It is now generally agreed that Perestroika, whatever the shape it has taken so far, has only worsened the economic situation. The "stagnant" Brezhnevian system did work somehow, but the new "restructured" order has not begun to work. The high expectations have been belied; more demands for change are being raised without much thought to the hard choices they imply. The daunting challenges from the Baltic, Transcaucasian and Asian republics have made the situation worse.

Mr George Kennan, a U.S. expert on Soviet affairs, told a Senate sub-committee on January 17 that Mr

Gorbachov was "viewed as personally responsible for all these crises and difficulties" and would not have survived the implied censure if his prestige abroad had not been an asset for the Soviet State and if his potential rivals had been able to offer a credible alternative. Could it be that Mr Gorbachov has become complacent because of the international fame he has won, even while the situation inside the Soviet Union has been worsening?

## II. Gorbachov's Glory and Success

It is an interesting fact of modern history that Mr Gorbachov has been a much greater success in international affairs and in the world outside the Soviet Union than in the domestic field where he has to face disillusionment among the people, severe criticism of his policies and many-sided challenges to his authority.

Mr Gorbachov's success in foreign policy has gained him a viable constituency in Western Europe and the USA, but surprisingly, it has had only a marginal effect on Soviet society itself. His slogan of "Europe—our common home" and his newly-found friendship with the U.S.A. are popular among the Soviet intelligentsia and potential migrants. But these have caused disquiet in the higher commands of the army and have gradually begun to create a psychological complex of losing the country's Super Power status.

The danger of "Russian backlash" is now regarded as quite real. Besides, the optimistic belief that the West will rush to sustain the economy of a democratic USSR is now belied. It is indeed a manifestation of the twist in history that the West, particularly the U.S.A. and Britain (Mrs Thatcher admires him) earnestly desires the survival and success of Mr Gorbachov as the most powerful leader the Kremlin has had in the past decade or two. U.S. President George Bush, as well as his right hand-American officials, especially Mr James Baker, the Secretary of State, describe Mr Gorbachov as a man of vision, of remarkable courage and deserving of full support of the entire world. They find he is flexible and amenable to reason, not rigid and needlessly tough like some of his predecessors.

**Main Hurdles:** Several obstacles are currently facing Mr Gorbachov.

Some of these have not yielded to the diplomacy of persuasion for which Mr Gorbachov has won much credit. There is the severe setback in Lithuania. The nationalities question, with the implicit conflicts, has come up with a vengeance and no satisfactory solution is yet in sight.

At stake is the credibility of Mr Gorbachov and of the Kremlin. This credibility has to be ensured and authority kept intact without jeopardising Perestroika. Open defiance of the Kremlin has been increasing in recent months. The process of democratisation, openness and decentralisation, which Mr Gorbachov set rolling, is itself to blame for this erosion of authority and laxity in discipline. Evidence of this defiance of the Kremlin's authority has come through the uprisings in Azerbaijan and elsewhere.

Ethnic developments in the Soviet Union also raise several issues relating to the application of the principle of self-determination to a part of the country, circumstances under which a republic can secede from the USSR and the justification for the use of force and its impact on Perestroika as a whole. Mr Gorbachov's answer is the principle of new federalism, meaning substantial autonomy in return for voluntary association.

Unfortunately, the gesture came too late and has had little effect except reopening the nationality debate amidst inflamed passions. Erosion of CPSU's authority has meant that initiative is passing on to local nationalistic elements.

There are also the international dimensions of the situation. More than two-thirds of Iranian MPs have urged Mr Gorbachov to halt further use of force. Iran has also criticised the USA for endorsing the Soviet action. Iran is worried about the spectre of a united, independent Azerbaijan in the north. Western countries have however endorsed Mr Gorbachov's use of force in Azerbaijan. Clearly, an unstable Central Asia, with its fallout on the Muslim world, would be unwelcome.

## III. Sweeping Powers

The Congress of People's Deputies, in its session in March, 1990, adopted by an overwhelming majority the Presidential system of government for the country and created a new post of Executive President for the



voice. That proved to be enough to set the tinder ablaze. When liberal winds start blowing, it is difficult to say where they will stop and which institutions they will sweep away.

The challenges which Mr Gorbachov is currently facing are evidence of this danger. He was hailed as a saviour when he took office in the spring of 1985. But to contend that he commands the same popularity as he did when he assumed power would be wrong. In recent months there have been indications that his Perestroika reforms are going out of control.

Moreover, ethnic and separatist violence have erupted on a disconcerting scale. Mr Gorbachov is however confident that the measures approved by the Soviet Parliament at its recent session would significantly speed up the process of restructuring. The economy, it is claimed, is getting rid of excessive centralisation. The guarantees of human rights in the Soviet Union have been strengthened and radical economic reforms have been accelerated.

The Estonian Parliament voted to assert its rights to self-determination, but the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet declared the resolution illegal. However, the changes in Eastern Europe would never have been possible without the reform crusade in the Soviet Union launched by President Gorbachov, who declared that each country must find its own road to socialism. The change in soviet policy had a multiplying spill-over effect on East European nations. Experts believe that the main reason why Moscow is tolerating dissent in East Europe and adopting a 'hands off' attitude is his internal multi-faceted trouble.

The Soviet empire, established at the end of World War II with the East Bloc satellites firmly in Moscow's grip, has now disintegrated. One country after another has sought alternatives to the centrally planned and single party Communist system.

**Grave Danger to USSR:** The Soviet Union is now facing the gravest dangers, both political and economic, since it began the process of reform five years ago. Yegor Ligachev, a senior member of the Communist Party's ruling Politburo cautioned that further policy mistakes could plunge the country into chaos. He is widely regarded as the principal conservative within the Soviet leadership because

of his staunch support for traditional socialist values. The deepening crisis, according to him, can be overcome but only with much greater discipline and resolve than the party and the country have shown.

"We have approached a dangerous point and if we step over, then economic and political chaos may well set in; we are at the last line, the very last." But Ligachev warned that the party could split soon over the platform and other questions of fundamental strategy, and he argued that it needed "a thorough cleansing" of its ranks to recover its Marxist-Leninist orientation, re-establish internal discipline and reassert its political authority. "In the complex process of Perestroika, which touches on all spheres of our life and activities, we have made a lot of mistakes", he declared.

### V. Secessionism: Gorbachov's Gamble

Mr Gorbachov proposed legislation which gives to each State of the Soviet federation a mechanism for deciding whether it wishes to remain in the Soviet Union or secede from it. The parliament of each federating State will have the power to order a referendum on this issue and the result of the referendum will be binding if at least three-quarters of the people of the State take part in it. The fact is that the right of self-determination for the federating States has always existed in the Soviet constitution, though superficially. The controversial law prescribing tough procedures for secession from the Union came into force from April 7, 1990.

It is not very clear whether the right of self-determination extends as far as the right to secede. Soviet political literature on this subject is ambiguous. This is even true of the detailed statement on the subject by President Gorbachov in his address to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in September last year. In the manifesto adopted by the Central Committee on February 7 this year, the party reaffirmed its commitment to Lenin's principle of the right of nations to self-determination, including secession. At the same time, we are convinced that the weakening and disruption of diverse and inter-related ties between the different States and the federation "could lead to

negative consequences for all peoples, to say nothing about individual destinies—consequences that are very difficult to foresee".

✓ It needs to be noted that the requirement of approval by a two-thirds majority of the population makes it virtually impossible for all the three Baltic republics to become independent. Through the party channels the central leadership could prevent any State from opting to exercise this right. But State Communist parties are gaining the right to break away from the all-federation party.

The States most likely to hold referendums soon are the three Baltic republics, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. But in the context of Kashmir, Pakistan and Afghanistan, and the South Asian region in general, what will be more interesting is what happens in the Muslim majority republics of central and southern Soviet Asia. It will also have an impact upon such territories of Pakistan (Baluchistan and the NWFP) in which there is great discontent against Islamabad and Lahore, and where there has been considerable psychological impact of the Afghan revolution and the collapse of the war by the Mujahideen against Kabul, which they fought with the active assistance of Islamabad and the USA.

Undoubtedly, the mechanism which President Gorbachov has created for exercise of the right of secession, creates a real right where only a theoretical one existed before. It is a gamble which will have repercussions extending far beyond the borders of the Soviet Union and could affect South Asia.

### VI. Gorbachov's Future

It is clear that for the first time in the history of the Soviet Union, momentous and widespread changes are taking place in the country's power structure which are expected to bring about a far-reaching transformation in the political system. Mr Gorbachov has been trying to find a middle position between radicals and conservatives on most issues (he is described by many as seeking centrist positions). Like Abraham Lincoln, Gorbachov is desperately trying to keep the republic (Union) together and to avoid a civil war. Both seemed to share the belief that no matter how the Union was formed, it cannot be abandoned. The decision how to keep



it together must be taken by the entire country.

Soviet history, especially the history of annexations, invasions and threats, is a source of anxiety in Lithuania and other republics that have made independence from the Union their goal. In many quarters there is a fear that Mr Gorbachov's image at home and abroad as a leader of reason, one who has discarded the traditions of Joseph Stalin, Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Breznev, could be lost at one stroke.

For Gorbachov, the stakes are tremendous. The challenge to Soviet borders goes well beyond the Baltic republics. It includes the Ukraine, a Slavic republic of 50 million people where, with each month, the calls for independence grow more distinct. It includes independence movements in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan in the Transcaucasus, and Moldavia on the Romanian border. Even in Central Asia, the most conservative part of the country, there are rallies and groups favouring autonomy.

A student from Byelorussia recently commented: "Soviet Russia is a great empire and we are now watching its disintegration. I think what will be left will be Russia—the original core territory. And that is just what happened to the Roman Empire; it shrank. I hope it all happens without haste, and peacefully." It is clear to Mr Gorbachov that Lithuania, for all its nervous drama, is a preface to a prolonged epic, the opening episode that could determine the course of a much wider challenge to the shape of the Soviet Union. It could be a speeded-up Soviet version of Gibbon's "Decline and fall of the Roman Empire" being played out every day.

The acute shortage of consumer goods is causing immense hardship to the people and economists find themselves divided on the measures to be taken for remedying the situation. Some people advocate freedom of action on all property and monetary reforms while suggesting that all extra money in circulation in the country should be acquired by the Government in order to keep the galloping prices under control. Others favour the introduction of a coupon system for equitable distribution of essential foodstuffs. This has given rise to a raging controversy between economists. This measure is bound to breed corruption and favouritism, and

in any case, it may not fully succeed in view of the continuing shortages of such items.

The developments now taking place promise a Soviet State that will not exercise hegemony over the life of the people, will tolerate different views and political manifestations, guarantee civil liberties and abandon the primitive view of socialist ownership. It will discard ideological dogmatism and all illegal privileges. The command and administrative system of the political economy will be replaced by a market plan economy. The CPSU will not have the monopoly of power.

Thus, the decisions taken at the Congress of People's Deputies constitute an important step in the direction of further democratisation of the Soviet State and ensure the rule of law. The institution of the Executive Presidency will provide an effective, strong and democratic instrument to further promote the on-going processes of Perestroika and Glasnost in all aspects of Soviet life and to develop and transform the federation in the interests of the various nations and ethnic groups.

Mr Gorbachov's diplomacy of persuasion has not helped to resolve the acute ethnic problems. But the developments have focussed attention on the domestic and international dimensions of the nationalities issue in the USSR. Whether Mr Gorbachov will be able to contain the conflicts will depend considerably upon whether the Kremlin is able to maintain its own credibility and authority intact without jeopardising Perestroika. But open defiance of the Kremlin, and thus of Mr Gorbachov, has been increasing.

**Radical Steps for Market Economy:** Mr Gorbachov has now drawn up a programme to bring about a dramatic acceleration in the pace of change that will make or break the much-publicised Perestroika reform programme. The aim is to usher in a market economy to replace the strictly controlled economic system of low, fixed prices of basic food articles as well as job security. The market system will mean a rapid rise in prices because of competition. An intensive transition to a market economy is considered vital in a federation threatened by independence movements.

## Conclusion

There are economic trends suggesting that Mr Gorbachov is running

out of time. Statistics for January and February this year show staggering losses through ethnic unrest and strikes, while wages rose faster than the production of consumer goods. Mr Gorbachov is determined to implement his new economic package. Mr Ryzhkov, a centrist in the politburo, was long thought the man most likely to replace Mr Gorbachov in the event of a coup by party conservatives. In the new power structure the party and the politburo are less able to threaten Mr Gorbachov. The latter's problem now is how to persuade the country to swallow the bitter economic medicine he now seems determined to administer.

Mr Gorbachov's difficulties arise from the magnitude of the Soviet problems. With the decline of the CPSU's role and the changeover to a presidential form of government, the Head of State will need decisive powers to guard against a lurch to anarchy. An extremely difficult task facing Mr Gorbachov is how to prevent democracy from being misused to sabotage an orderly transformation. The challenge is compounded by the civil war-like situation prevailing in certain republics

As Prof John K. Galbraith has pointed out, the notion of a stark choice is dangerously oversimplified. It disregards the evolution of the capitalist system from its original or pristine form, and as Soviet commentators argue, Lenin himself made a successful though limited experiment with the market.

Mr Gorbachov's experiments are admittedly more complex and difficult. His success will depend on how he can contend with circumstances at home, not on American help. Many in the West believe it is in the interests of international security that he should succeed. The alternative—chaos in the Soviet Union—would have a destabilising effect almost all over the world.

Mr Gorbachov needs the help of his own people but can hardly expect much from the lobby for a full capitalist transformation. A successful reordering of the system can only be gradual. After all, there is no short and sweet road to Western affluence, nor are well-stocked super markets the ultimate measure of human happiness.



INSTITUTE OF J&K AFFAIRS

Paper read at

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## THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNALISM

### A Democratic Rights Perspective

February 9, 1987  
By Prof. Manoj Kumar Mishra

It is not an accident that during the last decade or so, there has been a decline on the democratic right front while we have seen a steady rise in communal tensions in India. In the current discussion on communalism in the country, a new dimension needs to be added, i.e., the democratic rights perspective on the problem of communalism. We have seen several attempts at theorisation, re-interpretation of history, finding socio-economic basis on communal tensions, relationship between religion and politics and so on. But few people see the linkage between authoritarianism and communalism. I would like to submit for consideration the view that attacks on democratic rights of deprived groups of various kinds, are a major source of forces giving rise to communal tensions and therefore, the perspective the handling of the communal problem has to emphasise the need for progressing<sup>ve</sup> realisation of democratic rights.

From this view point, let us identify the contemporary problem of communalism, attempt a diagnosis of this problem to seek explanation and then spell out a perspective for handling this problem.

### The Problem

It seems to many that the magnitude of the problem of communalism has overtaken such serious problems like poverty and

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Dr. VIDYA BHUSHAN  
PROF (RETD) POL. SC  
UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU  
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unemployment. There is a wide-spread cynicism and even helplessness not only among leaders but also intellectuals and in the organs of public opinion on this question. Even though we see long discourses in the editorial pages of the newspapers, fervent appeals by politicians for communal harmony and occasional out-burst of overconfidence by managers of state, still you scratch the surface and you find helplessness all around.

Undoubtedly, the frequency of communal riots have increased. Some areas which had never experienced communal tensions before have become scenes of riots of serious magnitude. The language of the communication has increasingly acquired communal overtones. It is not confined to speeches of political leaders, but has spread to categories used in scholarly discussions. The social environment has become so surcharged that minor issues provide easy provocation leading to large-scale communal tensions. At the same time substantive issues which are of secular importance slide into communal debates. Processions during religious festivals belong to the first category, issue of civil code, issue of Urdu language and women's rights belong to the other category.

The problem of communalism has begun to appear in forms of crystallized ideology and organisation. Ideology of communalism is no longer on the fringe of Indian politics. It has crept into the strategy of several political parties. We find a rising assertion of orthodoxy of all major religions of India, Hinduism



Islam, Sikhism and Christianity. We can see the institutionalization of communalism not only in ad-hoc Action Committees on specific issues, but in stabler forms almost battle ready in defence of what they perceive as their natural rights.

But one must ask has communalism indeed overtaken problems like poverty or it only seems so in the heat of the communal tensions.

Without under-estimating the seriousness of the problem of communalism, I would like to suggest that this is part of an overall process of alienation in the contemporary Indian Society. Individuals, groups and classes, with diverse identity are getting increasingly alienated in the process of the functioning of the Indian State. This alienation has manifested in various ways with varying intensity at different levels and communalism is one of these manifestations. Democratic rights promised by the Indian Constitution and frequently deliberated upon in various platforms are being eroded in practice and causing alienation among people. Freedom, equality and justice, fulfillment of cultural urges of identity groups through political participation within a framework of secularism, socialism and democracy define our polity and it is a violation of this definition which is perhaps the root of the problem.

### Diagnosis

It may be worthwhile to attempt an explanation of the communal problem. First, a word about definition of communalism. While some scholars treat it essentially as an ideology or a



belief, others take it as a social phenomenon. As an ideology, communalism refers to the belief that people belonging to one religion also share common socio-economic, political and cultural interests. As a social phenomenon, it refers <sup>to</sup> an exclusive assertion justified in the name of a group, in this context a religious group. In my view, the second definition actually includes the belief as a component of this process of assertiveness. We emphasise the aspect of exclusiveness as a characteristic of communalism which ordinarily sees an antagonistic relationship among groups. As for the attributes of communalism, it is not merely a modern phenomenon though it may have modern manifestations. It represents the mix of tradition and modernity. Scholars have described this social phenomenon in terms of reformulating an ideal past of the religious group even though it may be historically questionable, converting <sup>the</sup> social situation into ~~the~~ battle ground against a perceived internal enemy, propounding a romantic call for sacrifice, giving radical even utopian programme of rebuilding society and linking up all levels of the socio-political process to achieve the communal goal by any means. It is not difficult to illustrate <sup>then</sup> ~~this difficult~~ aspect from our own environment. Communalism is in its very nature anti-democratic.

A theory which has gained ground in contemporary India by way of explaining the expanding phenomenon of communalism is the theory of the modernisation process. According to this view as India embarked upon a major developmental process, economic opportunities were rapidly expanded and competition for jobs an



commercial and industrial rights grew up. In this process, groups stake their claims, locally, regionally and at the national level and these ~~claims~~ <sup>claims</sup> are often backed by communal claims. There is a feeling among the non-Hindu groups that their gains have been disproportionately low. In fact, there are some studies which show that the muslim artisans and peasants of U.P. have become pauperised over the years and the ex-Zamindars have not quite made up in life. In the growth of the middle classes in India, according to one view, muslims have achieved rightfull share. According to this theory, Hindus have reacted to demands of other communities and have asserted their rights. That is why the trend of competitive communalism

According to another theory, the problem of communalism is product of India's experience under British imperialist rule. The colonial power through its policy of divide and rule, contributed to the growth of communalism leading to the partition of India. In the Nineteenth Century, the growth of India's Nationalism gradually acquired <sup>a</sup> historical dimension derived from a reformulated view of the Hindu past. By the end of Nineteenth Century, a new notion of Hinduism was born with a proselytizing character with scriptures, codes of behaviour and organisation claiming that it encompassed diverse faiths and cultural identities spread throughout India. The Britishers played up rival socio-economic and political claims of Hindus, Muslims, tribals and untouchables.

Our freedom struggle had several strands in it giving rise to an ambiguous formulation on secularism. There was one trend



within the Congress which sought to push it on the path of Hindu nationalism. Another tendency pursued the path of religious harmony under which all religious groups were called upon to see the common human principles being basic to all religions and confidently practice them in their life. The third trend upheld secularism as a rational, non-religious approach to life which they thought would be the ideology of the future. Despite Nehru's commitment to the third approach, the Congress never actually accepted it as its main outlook. A combination of the first two continued to guide the Congress before and after independence. Gandhi upheld the approach of religious harmony but was misunderstood by many non-Hindus for his use of symbols of Hinduism. Though there is enough evidence including the fact that he fell into the bullets of a Hindu fanatic to show that he used the symbols of Hinduism mainly as a mode of mass mobilisation which he did successfully. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Sheikh Abdullah combined the second and third approaches.

The partition produced ambiguous legacies. Even though India did not become a Hindu state, but remained a multi religious society after Pakistan was born, the psychological impact of partition and the communal carnage of 1947 remains serious. Some scholars have put it like this. Partition wrongly delegitimised the existence of muslim population in India. In the minds of many non-muslims a feeling prevails that muslims belong to Pakistan. It is an absolutely wrong feeling because muslims, Sikhs and christians indeed all non-Hindus have as much stake in India as the Hindus. But it should be frankly admitted that the images



which persist <sup>in the minds</sup> of many Hindus <sup>and</sup> ideas about muslims with which a Hindu child grows up, howsoever ~~the~~ baseless they may be, ~~they~~ are a psychological fact. Similar images about Hindus also persist in the minds of Muslims and others. We have to admit an intellectual failure in explaining the history of modern India particularly the partition to counter this feeling.

Partition was the outcome of the British colonial policies, rise of communalism, both Muslim and Hindu and the impatience of the prevailing Congress leadership to assume power in Independent India - all put in the process of the development of the colonial political economy over the years. We are beginning to see the emergence of new historiography which will perhaps put partition in a more objective ground and with hindsight of the later developments in the Indian sub-continent, new images of our recent past will emerge.

However, neither the modernization theory nor the theory of recent Indian history provides an adequate explanation of the rise of the phenomenon of the communalism. They do not answer the question as to why some regions are still free of communal tensions and why new regions having no objective historical reason should have become vulnerable. One has to seek the explanation of this phenomenon in the socio-political character of the overall development process which is of <sup>uneven</sup> character which has produced growth with inequities. In this process a centralistic state has emerged as the principal actor directing the process of development. In this process, we find ~~party~~ politics becoming increasingly communal education failing to acquire secular orientation and organs of the



state apparatus particularly bureaucracy, police and army fast becoming arenas of communal orientation. Despite the growth of the Indian economy with remarkable success both in agriculture and industry, the magnitude of poverty, unemployment, inflation and regional disparity remains high. With the mobilization of popular consciousness through political parties, growth of education and expansion of the domain of market, people's demands have steadily risen. Having failed to meet these demands, the Indian state has increasingly resorted to centralisation of power to face this crisis. This trend started in the mid 1970<sup>th</sup> and gradually we saw what can be called a structural freeze in the Indian system, i.e. suspending the programme of structural reforms on various fronts in recent years. Particularly under the new administration, we have found greater reliance on techno-managerial approach to the problems facing our society. Indian state has become what can be metaphorically called a silicon state. At the same time parties have appealed to religious identities for securing electoral support. The Congress which had once provided an important instrument of secularization began to drift into this in the late 1970's and early 1980's. Simultaneously, parties like B.J.P. which had a short phase of secular tilt, have resumed their communal banners. Thus, a trend of communalization of the Indian state process accompanied by the vastly powerful trend of centralization is what we have been seeing in recent years. These are the consequences of the development process and these consequences essentially amount to attacks on democratic rights of tribals, peasants, dalits and identity groups of great variety. So the evolution of the Ind



State into an authoritarian system provides a major explanation for the alienation of identity groups which in turn gives rise to exclusivist assertion of rights of communities.

The crisis in development manifest in the state-in-crisis is therefore the main cause of rise of the phenomenon of communalism. This can be illustrated in terms of the cultural policy of the Indian State, particularly its perspective on National integration.

Over the years the official approach to national integration has essentially reflected the ideology of centralisation. The central leadership has defined national integration in terms of cultural, economic and territorial unity and sees every demand for autonomy as a challenge to the unity of India. This has given rise to a "roller approach" to culture where a central leadership identifies what it considers to be national culture. Its talk of composite culture is not a product of negotiation and communication among identities producing a notion of India as a multi-cultural civilisation but a deliberate projection of certain cultural principles in the name of all.

Many liberals had believed that modernisation would entail new values of enterprise, competition and rationality which would replace specific cultural identities like religious identities. Socialists believed that in the course of class struggle new values of working classes like those of solidarity, struggle and rationality would be the new motivating principles. History has proved both these assumptions inadequate. All new values have to negotiate with cultural identities and produce a specific mix in each situation.



National integration has become a slogan of the Indian state leadership as part of their power strategy. On the plank of unity and integrity of the nation and making emotional appeal to fight against threat to national unity and integrity they win elections. In the process they have fostered communalism of majority, Hindu community in India. Hence the talk of composite culture in the context of the age old Indian civilization boils down to an assertion of Hindu tradition. Hence, the package of national integration consists of centralised authority, a roller approach to culture and a Hindu bias perhaps inadvertent so. And this package serves the legitimization process of the Indian state. Consequently, we find a sense of alienation among the non-Hindus and the alienation is equally evident among some linguistic, tribal and regional identity groups in various parts of this country.

In this context there has been a major intellectual failure in perceiving the nature of secularism. As secularists both of liberal or socialist variety had entertained all these years, the fond belief that modernisation and class movements would wipe out the grip of religion over the minds of people. It was believed that religion was after all <sup>an</sup> element of <sup>the</sup> super-structure 'Opinion of the Masses' - and with the change of the feudal structure religion would decline. That religion was a powerful force shaping the world view of people for centuries and out-living structural changes was not seriously taken into account. The irrational and the divisive character of religion alone were the subject, not their social base and intellectual and moral function. It may



be noted that both in Soviet Union and China recent measures have been taken allowing religious practices <sup>to</sup> for those who believe <sup>in religion</sup> while the state clearly encourages rational, non-religious and secular outlook. The religious movements have themselves experienced radical upsurge. Church groups are active today in Latin American revolutionary struggles. Liberation theology has emerged as a radical ideology. In the history of Indian freedom struggle <sup>several</sup> examples are available from the Sikh, Muslim, Hindu groups who performed patriotic and anti-colonial role. So, approach to religion has to be appropriately reconsidered. Secularists or non-believers have to patiently conduct a dialogue with religion rather than <sup>dismissing</sup> seeing the religious force <sup>merely</sup> as <sup>obscurantist</sup> ~~dis-synatist~~.

However, we should be clear about the difference between secularism and a new slogan given by Hindu nationalists today which they call Indian secularism. By the latter they mean reliance on a framework of multi-religious society where Hindu religion is the main ethos. This is quite different from what Gandhi visualised for India. Gandhi propounded the notion of equal respect for all religions <sup>and</sup> ~~of~~ without ever suggesting that Indian society was to be governed on the basis of <sup>a</sup> dominant Hindu ethos.

There is a surprising convergence between the explicit slogan of the Hindu nationalists in their new assertion and the implicit perspective of <sup>the</sup> Indian state. The leadership of Indian state does not wish to risk the loss of its Hindu support base. It does not like to see the B.J.P. or some other force to carry away the banner and hence this convergence. In this process



secularism has been the casualty - secularism in the sense of a rational and a humanist outlook engaged in dialogue with religion and together forming a part of the struggle for democratic rights. How do we reverse this process?

### The Perspective

To start with let us admit that none of the short range options are by themselves going to work. The magnitude of communalism has become too large to respond to any immediate steps. What is immediately necessary is to initiate some long term processes, so that at least some decades from today secularism will achieve some advance. This is not to say that steps to maintain communal harmony, curb communal tensions, propose a code of ethics for political parties, restrict communal communication in the media should not be urgently undertaken. But let there be no illusion that these are adequate to tackle the problem of communalism.

The long term perspective relies mainly on the reorientation of the development process with focus on the cultural and political process. This reorientation has to be achieved through the politics of democratic rights so that the process of alienation of the deprived groups can be reversed.

There is an urgent need to reconsider the prevailing development model in India specially its contemporary techno-managerial incarnation of the silicon state. The process of development has to be decentralised and participatory so that its fruits are equitably shared by various identity groups and



particularly the poor among them. In other words development must enlarge the democratic rights of the deprived groups - the right to dignified living and the political, economic and cultural freedoms of the citizen.

This also involves a redefinition of the Indian Union. This "Union of States" was philosophically conceived as a Union of participating identities. The linguistic identities were to enjoy constitutional power. But each political unit was also a cluster of several religious and ethnic identities. Therefore power should be so arranged as to ensure channels of participation for the various regional, religious, linguistic and ethnic identities. This is why Indian Union was structurally designed as a multi-layered polity with provincial (state), sub-regional (sub-state), regional, district etc.) and lower levels right to the Panchayat. This process would compell every identity to negotiate and reconcile with others and together seek democratic rights.

Unfortunately, the operation of the Indian polity over the years has been in the opposite direction. The central leadership has abandoned the perspective of the decentralised federal polity. *Besides the slogan of preserving unity and integrity.* It has justified centralisation either in the name of reducing regional disparity or in the name of curbing local conservatism or for purposes of implementing a central plan of development. In each case it has shown distrust in the capacity of the masses at the grassroot level to fight for their rights. Instead of aiding them as envisaged in the constitution it has practically suppressed such forces and has imposed its centralistic rule. This ideology is now shared by several other opposition parties as well.



Beside s a reorientation of the development model and reassertion of the federal process of decentralisation there has to be a comprehensive cultural policy to advance a democratic value movement in India. Our educational system should be geared towards democratic values. We must know history and sociology of all major religions and learn to conduct a dialogue between secularism and religion. The study of history has to be retrieved from the grip of conservative ideology and be related to the democratic rights movement. It is unfortunate to replace one falsification of history with another falsification for some crude purpose of serving the cause of secularism. History is tied to ideology but is also a process of discovery of truth and it must be squarely faced. The media and all the organs of communication which are serving the needs of centralised state have also to be reoriented towards democratic rights. Above all the functionaries of the state, public official, professionals, teachers and politicians have to demonstrate through their day-to-day behaviour that they do not contribute to the communal phenomenon.

Thus, a long term perspective - a democratic right perspective that calls for a reorientation of India's development <sup>towards an equitable order, a</sup> strategy federal polity and democratic cultural process can perhaps generate new forces to combat communalism.

Jammu :  
9 February 1987

PROFESSOR MANORANJAN MOHANTY  
DEPT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
UNIVERSITY OF DELHI  
DELHI-110007



The very fact that the present situation in the valley is master-minded by Pakistan on the premise of muslim majority concept, with fundamental overtones gives it completely different tinge, than what prevailed at the time of partition of Indian sub-continent.

Inspite of ~~the fact that~~ the intensifying operations by the security forces in the valley, considerably restricted militant activities, and frustrated designs of Pak-sponsored sub-version which cause the closal <sup>s</sup> destruction of men and material, ~~and~~ the people have completely fed up with such a state of affairs, militancy still could not be curbed.

The statesmen, scholars, experts on Kashmir affairs, political parties, journalists and the bureaucrats have, however, suggested the various measures to combat militancy in Kashmir. A brief but a critical analysis of each of these is desirable to find out the fool proof method to cure this menance and to stop further alientation of the Kashmiri masses.

# 1. SCRAPPING <sup>of</sup> ARTICLE - 370

Integrationists in ~~the State~~ <sup>outside the state</sup> and outside are pleading strongly for the scrapping of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, which has granted special Status to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and which is temporary and transitionary provision and was created to meet the



special circumstances prevalent at the time of framing the Indian Constitution. They are of the view that this provision is responsible for widening the gulf between the people of this state and the rest of India.<sup>3</sup>

But the supporters of abrogation of Article 370 have perhaps forgotten that this provision is the only basis of Kashmir's constitutional relations with Indian Union. Moreover, 90% of the Kashmiri Muslims in the State, irrespective of their political affiliations support the retention of this provision. ~~It may be pointed out that~~ Any attempt of altering and abrogating this provision unilaterally would not only constitute a breach of the spirit and letter of the constitution. but would further alienate the Kashmiri masses and may invite still more serious consequences in the way of harmonious association of the state with Indian Union. It may further be <sup>stressed</sup> ~~pointed out~~ that all the attempts to nullify this provision since August 1953 till date, could not bring Kashmiris closer to the rest of India rather provided support to the disruptive forces and the evil designs of Pakistan. Article 370 is, ~~hence~~, an eye-sore only for those who supported the uniformity in centre-state relations and <sup>also for</sup> those who are the staunch supporters of the philosophy of 'Akhand Bharat'.

They perhaps have forgotten the fact that the Indian Constitution is studded with special provisions



like Article 371 with respect to regions of Maharashtra and Gujarat, Article 371-A Special status to Nagaland, Article 371-B to tribal areas of Assam, Article 371-C to Manipur, Article 371-D to Andhra Pradesh, Article 371-F Sikkim, Article 371-G provisions regarding Mizoram and Article 371-H to Arunachal Pradesh<sup>4</sup>. So it is <sup>unjustified</sup> ~~invidious~~ to pick on <sup>therefore,</sup> Article 370 only. Let us stop all talks about the abrogation of this provision in the interest of unity and integrity of this country.

## 2. RUTHLESS SUPPRESSION

Those who suggest ruthless suppression of the Kashmiri masses perhaps have not learnt lesson from the past history e.g. Pak Army in East Bengal, in Sind, Blochistan<sup>etc.</sup> (and NEWP). <sup>However,</sup> Suppression does not provide durable and permanent solution of any problem. In spite of the fact that <sup>About five thousand</sup> (5480) militants including 235 foreign missionaries were killed, more than 8000 of them arrested, <sup>About</sup> 3000 still in Jails, 979 security men <sup>+ About 3 thousand</sup> persons, (3250) innocent persons lost their lives, and <sup>more than 2 thousand</sup> (2127) civilians killed in cross firing<sup>5</sup>, still ~~an~~ <sup>normalacy</sup> could not return in the valley.

## 3. HANDING OVER VALLEY TO ARMY

Handing over valley to army will also not serve the purpose. It may add fuel into the fire. The



recent example of Pakistan handing over Sind to army and its consequences and Russian venture in Chychania are before us. It may further alienate the Kashmiri ~~masse~~ <sup>people</sup>.

#### 4. MILITARY SOLUTION

Three wars have already been fought and the result is identical. We are, where we were in 1947. Another war may be more destructive but without substantial change in present boundaries, because Pakistan is said to be far better prepared with latest war machinery and nuclear war heads. Moreover, military solution can only be desirable when India is <sup>fully</sup> ~~for~~ prepared to confront not only Pakistan but also the Chinese simultaneously. There may also be American, other Western nations, Muslim world and UNO's pressure against such a venture.

#### 5. PLEBISCITE

As Lord Mountbatten the first Governor General of Indian Republic in his letter of October 27, 1947 to Maharaja Hari Singh wrote, "It is my government's wish that <sup>as</sup> ~~as~~ soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invaders, the question of the state/<sup>accession</sup> should be settled by a reference to the people of Kashmir", quite a number of political elites inside and outside the state, <sup>therefore,</sup> believe, that Kashmiris have a right to self determination or plebiscite.



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But, Professor Maurice Mendeson - a British expert in Pub. International Law points out, ~~that~~ <sup>are</sup> G.G. remarks ~~were~~ merely an expression of an idea and ~~this~~ have no legal binding. He had no right to make such a promise or lay down any condition while accepting the instrument of accession signed by, the ~~then~~, ruler of Kashmir." He, therefore, rightly points out that Kashmiris have no legal right to plebscite or self determination.

He further added that the people of the state had themselves confirmed this fact by voting overwhelmingly in favour of Sheikh Abdullah four years after he declared that the accession of J&K with India was final and complete<sup>6</sup>.

~~Moreover~~, Such ~~a~~ remarks or any promise <sup>by Indian leaders</sup> of plebscite made <sup>before</sup> 26th January 1950 i.e. before the enactment and enforcement of the Constitution of India becomes unconstitutional because the constitution does not accept the right to secession for any acceding state or <sup>a</sup> part of Indian Republic. <sup>Moreover,</sup> ~~However,~~ holding plebscite to decide the Kashmir problem is also not at all possible. There were pre-conditions set by UNO subsequently under <sup>its</sup> Resolutions 1947-48, i.e. vacation of aggression by Pakistan and with drawing its army from Pak-occupied Kashmir including Gilgit and Baltistan. When these conditions were never met by Pakistan, its and Kashmiri outfits insistence on plebscite after 45 years, is unrealistic. Pakistan, on the other hand, had already

It may added that the consent of Kashmir had also ruled out the holding of plebscite in the state. Hence any such attempt shall be unconstitutional even under the present constitution of the state (A.G. Noorani in defence of Art. 370)



handed over some parts of the Kashmir territory to China. <sup>in addition,</sup> ~~Moreover,~~ no country can afford an option open for all the times to come and provide a slightest possibility of dismemberment of its territory. It also be kept in mind that those who would have participated in such a plebiscite more than four decades ago are no more alive. The new generation is entirely different both in outlook and practical life style. Even the people who made this commitment are no more. So much water has flown down under the river Jhelum and in Tawi that comparison of the people then with that of present ~~one~~, <sup>one</sup> bears no resemblance.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, the commitment then made can not be binding on the posterity. Those who committed blunders are no more and those who have voted then, are also no more.

6. <sup>Independence</sup> INDEPENDENCE TO KASHMIR

Some of the outfits in the Valley like JKLF and a few groups outside, constantly demanding independence for Kashmir. They believe that it will be panacea for all evils and exploitation of the Kashmiris, by India and Pakistan, both in their respective areas. <sup>however,</sup> Sheikh Mohd Abdullah ruled out the possibility of independent Status ~~for~~ for Kashmir, because of lack of goodwill for it, on the part of its neighbours <sup>ers</sup> and other factors. ~~Moreover,~~ The independence for Kashmir is too <sup>Rather</sup> not acceptable by Pakistan. / It wants entire Kashmir.



To pursue that goal it has with drew its support to JKLF and started supporting pro-Pak outfits. Independent Kashmir too cannot exist as a viable unit without foreign dependence. That is why, China has categorically refused to accept Kashmir as an independent country. Even the British security experts are of the view that the option of independence for Kashmiris is unrealistic.

In addition, independence for Kashmir may not be acceptable to the other regional units - Jammu, Ladakh, Gilgit and Baltistan. They may reject the domination of one region by another.<sup>3</sup> Those who demand independence for Kashmir should learn lesson from Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Yugoslavia and Chychania, where independence cause only destruction and devastation for the people.

Economically, too, an independent Kashmir would not be a viable as both parts at present depended on heavy subsidies from India and Pakistan<sup>9</sup> respectively.

#### 7. MORE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND MORE AIDS

Some of the critics are of the view that the present crisis in the state is due to the lopsided economic development. They are also of the view that benefits of the economic development in the state, so far, has gone to some sections of the society. But the majority of the people are still poor, illfed and ill-clothed. The unemployment of the educated youngmen is the serious problem. That is why, <sup>innocent</sup> Kashmiri youth became the easy prey of the false prapoganda of Pak



media and other fundamentalist and secessionist outfits in the valley.

~~But~~ <sup>3</sup> it may be pointed out that this state has received lavish grants from Centre since Independence. But the influence of the disruptive forces increasing day by day. ~~We~~ also should not forget that greater dose of aids can not be a substitute for the satisfaction of political urges of the people. Rather it stimulate and provoke them if they suspect the motives of aid given. ~~Moreover,~~ <sup>also</sup> it ~~becomes~~ counter productive if it causes corruption economic and political distortion.

One should also remember that the fiscal deficit which was close to Rs. 650 crores by the middle of the year 1992 was feared to rise to Rs. 1365 crores by the end of the same financial year.<sup>10</sup> Though the plan amount for the next financial year of 1993-94 was estimated to be Rs. 895 crores, it is feared that this amount too would be adjusted in the non-plan.<sup>11</sup>

Diversion of more resources for economic development in the state can not be possible as the state is facing fiscal crisis. Its economy has been in bad shape for the past so many years. The situation came to the lowest ebb last June when the state treasuries were found empty and the employees had to wait for salaries for quite a long time.<sup>12</sup>



complete autonomy or pre-53 condition  
 three to the state except three subjects  
 transfer to the centre i.e. Defence  
 Defence  
 Communication +  
 Foreign Affairs

8. MEANINGFUL AUTONOMY/PRE-1953 STATUS of Meaningful autonomy

A suggestion has been also made that granting of the meaningful autonomy like that of pre-1953 period would satisfy the Kashmiri masses and normalcy would return in valley.<sup>13</sup> They plead that majority of the political elites in the valley are now convinced that in the present day world, no state could purely operate on religious basis.

The state constitution has, however, been amended several times since August 1953 and number of central laws have also been extended to the State. It may not an easy thing to go back to pre-1953 position. Moreover, Pakistan would not accept it.

9. MAKING INDIA A GENUINELY FEDERAL STATE

Some of the political elites - particularly Progressives Communists suggest to make India as a genuinely federal state in which the states are not the vassal of whom soever gets into power in Delhi and can dismiss state governments even for petty reasons.<sup>14</sup>

But one should keep in mind that geographically culturally, racialy, and ethnically India is not a homogeneous country. Being a multi-lingual, multi-racial, multi-cultural and multi-religious state, it comprises of different regions which have distinct regional and political



personalities of their own. In fact political and emotional divergence between them have been growing over years. A loose federal structure may, therefore, not desirable in the interest of unity and integrity of this country. ~~Moreover~~ the past history of this country is an eye-opener for us.<sup>15</sup>

#### 10. POLITICAL DIALOGUE

The crisis in Kashmir can also said to be tackled and resolved through negotiations and dialogue, with misled Kashmiri militants. They are of the view that if there ~~will be~~ negotiations for the release of Dr. Rubiya Sayed the daughter of Ex-Home-Minister, why there can not be dialogue and negotiation with all groups of militants to resolve the crisis. After all they are not aliens but our own nationals.

It is, therefore, proposed that all the groups of the militants should be invited for dialogue. If they do not come forward then all parties meet be ~~convened~~ and an attempt should there be made to bring out a settlement within the Indian Constitutional frame-work. The supporters of starting dialogue are of the view that most of the political elites in the valley are now convinced that they have no future by acceding with Pakistan. They ~~also~~ also know that Bengali speaking people, Sindhis and the people of Frontier districts, ~~through~~ though muslims are not yet allowed



to maintain their separate identity. Even the Muslims migrated from India during 1947 are still treated as they are Magarins and not only the target of violence but also discriminated and hatred. The complexity of the crisis, <sup>therefore,</sup> requires several rounds of such dialogues both at official and non-official levels. The series of the visits of the central leaders to the valley are also suggested. As this process continuous, more view points would come out and this process alone can end cynicism and alienations of the Kashmiri masses.<sup>16</sup>

But some of the National Political parties like B.J.P. pleade that there should be no place for anti-national elements on the negotiating table.<sup>17</sup>

that  
They add / though no hard and fast rules can be laid down to deal with terrorist acts. Yet what is the crucial is no and never negotiate with kidnappers, killers and looters. Experience of the world demonstrated that inflexibility may not be feasible in all circumstances. Rather a clear but stern policy lines would help in tackling them.<sup>18</sup>

Inspite of all, ~~that~~ the Indian leaders and Government did try from time to time to enter into dialogue with disgrunteled elements in the valley but failed miserably in this venture. ~~Moreover,~~ There are various militant groups active in the valley and some of them at dagger drawn with each other. Bringing all of them on one table for negotiations and dialogue is most difficult in the present situation.



11. TRIFICATION OF THE STATE

A group of newly emerging political elites in Jammu, are strongly advocating trification of the state and each of the three regions - the Valley, Jammu and Ladakh be granted internal autonomy.

A similar proposal was once before the active considerations of the Basic Principles Committee of Consenbly of Jammu and Kashmir in 1953.<sup>19</sup> The idea was to give autonomy to different cultural units - of the state as it would resolve all the fears of domination of one unit over the other. According to Joseph Karbel the cultural units were named as the Valley, Jammu, Gilgit, Ladakh and a region consisting of the districts of Mirpur, Rajouri, Poonch and Muzaffarabad.<sup>20</sup> Three of these provinces - Kashmir Jammu and Poonch - Rajouri were to have each as Executive Head, a Council of ministers responsible to the provincial legislatures. As far as Ladakh and Gilgit were concerned, they were proposed to be administered by Regional Councils. The idea was to create "A Republic within a Republic".<sup>21</sup>

Even this proposal could not materialize. ~~But~~ the integrationists in and outside the state are not at all in favour of trification of the state.



They pointed out that though this proposal might reduce the possibility of regional imbalances, irritations and tensions, yet it will give further impetus to the diversive forces inside and outside the state to exploit the situation.

Like integrationists, the autonomists, pro-independent and even some of the secessionist outfits are not at all in favour of dismemberment of the state. They also desire to keep the state intact as it was during the time of Dogra Dynastic rule.

12. ~~MAINTENANCE OF STATUS QUO~~ <sup>X</sup> ~~W.e.~~ PARTITION OF  
THE STATE AT THE ACTUAL LINE OF CONTROL

said  
Acceptance of status quo is also/to be  
the only solution of the Kashmir crisis and any  
attempt to force other option would prove destructive  
for the people on both sides of actual line of control.  
That is partition of the state between India and  
Pakistan on Actual Line of Control with minor adjustment  
here and there. Even Eisenhower/<sup>also</sup>suggested it in 1958.<sup>22</sup>  
It is also pointed out that there was a definite under-  
standing between Z.A. Bhutto and Mrs. Indira Gandhi  
at Shimla (<sup>under</sup> Shimla Agreement) that both the leaders  
would henceforth persuade their respective people  
to accept actual line of control as international  
border.<sup>23</sup>



But the integrationists as well as autonomists inside and outside the state may not accept this proposal.

13. ELIMINATE TERRORISM, RESTORE CONFIDENCE AND  
INITIATING POLITICAL PROCESS, THE ONLY  
PRAGMATIC SOLUTION.

Mr. Chairman Sir,

This discuss shall, however, be incomplete if I fail to present my <sup>own</sup> humble suggestion to combat militancy in Kashmir. I, therefore, suggest that as Kashmir problem is a multi-dimentional, a multi-dimentional solution is urgently needed to eliminate the root cause of terrorism in the state, thrown by different quarters. There should, therefore, be a comprehensive<sup>24</sup> strategy to meet the threat of terrorism which is definately a police/military problem. The strategy should have two components - the short term and the long term.

The short term strategy should include putting strong and sustained pressure on the terrorists and their collaborators, denying them extra supply of oxygen in the form of foreign arms and money; publicity by human rights-bodies and undue press-publicity of local and outside; the flow of state resources and Indian money given for developmental activities, treating the situation in the valley as low-intensity war or a war by proxy, organising counter guerilla groups blocking their supply line,



identifying and removing subversive elements from state services and from semi-government organisations, providing an honourable line of return to misguided Kashmiri youths, launching a strong move through media to counter false and malicious Pak propoganda against India, educating the masses about the ultimate futility of violence, and exhibiting a united national will and maintaining a consistent line of action.

The long term measures should include the fundamental reforms of state administration. The present culture of superficiality, shallowness, softness and selfishness be replaced by the culture of constructivity, creativity and comparison.

The priority then should be given to the restoration of the confidence of Kashmiris, which they had exhibited in <sup>the</sup> forties and early fifties, in Indian polity. The need of the time is, therefore, to stop all talks about scrapping <sup>of</sup> Article 370, Masjid-Temple controversy, trification of the state, suppression of people's will by force etc.

Once it is done, the political process should immediately be started. Free and fair elections should be conducted and the power should



~~without delay.~~  
be transferred to the elected members. All these processes should be started simultaneously but without delay.

In short, "Eliminate Terrorism, restore confidence of the people and initiate political process" is the only pragmatic solution of the current turmoil in the state which is not only known for its natural beauty but also its aged <sup>Humanism,</sup> old religious tolerance and secular outlook.

. . .



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## HUMAN RIGHTS AND TERRORISM IN JAMMU AND

KASHMIR

Dr. V. Bhushan

Being horrified by the inhumanity unleashed by the WW.II the international community drew up a charter of peace and statement of faith in the form of Declaration of Human Rights just after the war. The concept of 'Human Rights' philosophy today is seen not only as protection of individuals and their civil liberties but as a wider concept of ensuring social justices. The world community has realised that good governance is impossible to be achieved without placing Human Rights Commissions at national level to monitor their enforcement and to check the flagrant violations of Human Rights. In addition, every nation is subjected to int. security by the world organisation to indict member states for the violation of Human Rights.

The roots of Human Rights and Fundamental freedom of individuals, however, been traced from humanitarian traditions, the uneasing struggle for human freedom and equality of



2.

individuals and historic pronouncements of philosophers, political leaders, statesmen in different centuries in general and in 20th century in particulars. It found its first expression in Magna Carta of 1215. The concept of Human Rights is also said to be originated with the historic documents and revolutions such as 'American Declaration of Independence (1776), French Declaration of Rights of Man (1789) and Bolshevik Revolution (1917). Its progress through the historical path was, therefore, gradual and never lost its links with the past.

The promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedom of individual in the present form, thus, stemmed directly from the realization of world community that the recognition of inherent, equal and inalienable rights of all members of human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the contemporary world.

The modern concept of Human Rights evolved by UNO transcends the nation boundaries and included in UN charter. Despite all this the violation of Human Rights by the terrorists forces has also become a global phenomenon.



The condition's in the third world is even worse. India is not an exception to this menace. Terrorism is negation of life. All value based violence which contravenes generally accepted norms of civil society, social order, human behaviour and Right of life and equality of all men, violates the rights of man. Judgements based upon preferences, which violate life, equality and freedom of mankind do not have any impunity available under civil law or Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Thus all political terrorism is organise crime.

"There is no freedom which transcends freedom, there is no liberty which infringes liberty; there is no right which violates rights".

It is now over one and half decade that the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir has been in the grip of the most vicious form of terrorism and the gross violation of Human Rights. As the tally of those kidnapped, raped, tortured and killed continues to rise, a new and extremely dangerous dimension has been added. The influx of battle hardened



foreign mercenaries sent by Pakistan escalating the level of terror in the valley and extending the sphere of such terror beyond the valley to other parts of the state as well as in India. While a large number of them are already active in the valley, thousand more are reported to be waiting across the borders in Pakistan to infiltrate into the state. They being functioning under different umbrella organisation are ardent practitioners of the philosophy that the democratic, secular, tolerant way of life and all its related institutions must be destroyed wherever they exist. They hailed from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Sudan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Pak occupied Kashmir, Bahrein, Kazakhstan, Lebanon, Uzbekistan, turkey, Negeria, Iran etc. etc. They were working under the directions of ISI as well as the various terrorist organisations like Harkat-ul-Jehad-e-Islami, Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen, Jamaat-e-Islami, Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen, Students Liberation Front, Al-Umar-Mujahideen, Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, Markaz-Dawa-ul-Arshad, Harkat-ul-Ansar, Ansar-ul-Mujahideen, Lashkar-a-Toiba, Jash-a-Mohammad



and many other. Alkaida Ahle-Hadith, Murkaz-ul-Dawal-Irshad military wing of Lashkar Tayyaba, Jamait-e-Tulba.

List of Alien Mercenaries Arrested / killed identified in J&K till April 1994.

From	Arrested					Killed					Identified
	1991	1992	1993	1994	Total	1991	1992	1993	1994	Total	
Pakistan/ 2 Pakistan Occupied Kashmir		8	2	16	37	2	12	27	11	52	56
Afghanistan	-	1	-	1	2	1	6	61	20	88	46
Bahrain	-	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	-
Sudan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	3
Saudi Arabia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	2
Egypt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Kazakhstan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Lebanon	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Uzbekistan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Nigeria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Algeria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
Iran	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	6	9
Total	2	9	24	7	42	3	19	96	38	145	121

According to Human Rights watch recent report the total number of civilians killed by Pakistani Terrorists in J&K in 2001 is 931, up to end of sept. 2002 is 865 and from 1989 till date the civilians killed are 10,089.



Blatant violation of human rights by terrorists in J&K is continued unabated.

Being failed miserably in her efforts to wrest Kashmir by open wars thrice, to get implemented the outdated U.N. resolutions on Kashmir and to cause localised violent incidents through her mechanisation aiming at fomenting troubles in Kashmir, Pakistan is still continuing its illusory pursuit of annexing Kashmir by whatever means. Over the last two decade she has been not only infiltrating armed terrorists and promoting insurgency in this sensitive border state of J&K but also has kept up sustained pressure from across the border to launch infiltration, transport weapons, arms, ammunition and explosive devices to terrorists in the state. Recently, a wide range sophisticated arms and ammunition have also been made available by ISI to the terrorists. It is this systematic Pak military financial and organisational support that has given the rise of insurgency in the state, its potency and staying power have led to the gross violation of human Right of innocent people.

The death toll runs in thousands and colossal



destruction of property. Still there are no indications that Pakistan intends giving up its nefarious designs in the J&K. At the same time, Pakistan is once again clamouring at all foralocal , regional and international that the violence in J&K is an indigenous uprising of the people against India. But the reality is wherever and whenever violence occurred in Kashmir it has been the direct consequence of Pakistan interference and fostering of subversion and terrorism within Kashmir boarder.

Common Kashmiris today stand sandwiched between the armed forces of India and equally equipped militant secessionists. The report<sup>y</sup> of ~~different~~<sup>different</sup> human rights organisations ( both official and non official) national and international have brought forth the sorrow plight of Kashmirs.

The terrorists have successfully and surreptitiously provoked the state to use indiscriminate mass violence and have thereby been able to win sympathy from the Kashmiris. For instance they had on a number of occasions provoked the security forces to retaliate by



firing at them from behind the shield of innocent crowds to discredit them as violators of human rights. All these activities are masterminded by Pak intelligence agencies. They are providing leadership , training, arms, equipment, safe bases and fundamentalists recruits from other countries beside their own to create a war like situation in kashmir.

Pakistan, simultaneously raised the bogey of violation of Human Rights of innocent Kashmiri Muslims by India, popularly elected National Conference Govt, security and para military forces especially BSF and CRP in Kashmir. It has launched a strong and sustained propaganda campaign to mould the world opinion in general and of the Muslim world in particular against Indian and state govt. Their exaggerations not only alienated the Kashmiris from India but also presented the ugly face of the state repression of its own kind. Anti Indian elements have found an opportunity in it to discredit India and demoralise the Indian security forces. The incidents of Sopore, Kupwara, Lal Chowk, Dudhi, Anantnag, Bijbehara where security forces resorted to firing have been greatly highlighted



to exploit the situation (the issue has also been raised by Pakistan from time to time at the meeting of OIC, UN and at other international fora) There are number of front organisations for the Kashmir terrorists being floated by Pakistan in and outside Pakistan. Inside Pakistan are Kashmir Human Rights Forum headed by Rtd Major Umar Hayat; J&K Human Rights Movement; International Kashmir Committee headed by D. Naemullah Qureshi; Kashmir Committee headed by Retd. Major Muzaffar Shah; Dukhtarane-e-Kashmir headed by Dr. Sarima Jogezi and J&K Action Committee headed by Nazir Ahmed Khalid.

Outside Pakistan are World Kashmir Freedom Movement (UK) head by Nazir Gilani; Kashmir American council (USA) headed by Dr. Ghulam Nabi and Kashmir Association of North America lead by A. Sheikh.

All these organisations have launched a tirade against the so called state engineered terrorism in the valley. They therefore, are actively involved in diverting the attention of the UN and other international agencies toward Kashmir. The reports published by these Pak sponsored organisations alleged that the fundamental rights



of the Indian constitution and those enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which the Indian Govt. is a signatory have been denied to the people of Kashmir. These reports carried several accounts of atrocities of security forces on innocent people and inhuman treatment of Kashmiris.

Even the reports of Asia Watch Amnesty International have also accused the Indian Security forces of committing excesses and violating international humanitarian law in the valley. The reports listed about 415 deaths from torture, custodial death, setting ablaze the houses in retaliation, custodial rape, use of third degree methods over crowding in the jails etc.

These reports are mostly contradictory, indignatory, malicious, guided, and at times far from facts. Countering the allegations Dr. Farooq Abdullah in the World Conference on the Human Rights in Vienna in June 1993 rapped Pakistan for destroying peace in J&K and for spreading lies and propaganda only to mislead the world opinions. In February 1994 at Geneva



the representatives of even Peoples Republic of China and Iran regretted Pakistan's involvement in promoting terrorists activities in Kashmir and stressed the need to seek a solution to the problem under Shimla Agreement.

Even Asia Watch and Amnesty International in 17 pages of report had asked Pakistan to end all support to militant organisations in Kashmir, which have committed murders, rapes and assaults, issued threats to civilians and indulged in grave violations of international human rights and humanitarian law unable to ignore the Human rights violations by terrorists groups in Kashmir, it urged the international community to condemn the acts by militants group and bring pressure on them to end all such abuses. Until 1994, out of about 1900 persons killed by the militants 400 were security personnel, abducted 742 people out of whom 71 were killed e.g. Mirwaiz Maulvi Farooq killed on May 21, 1990, H.L.Khera, General Manager HMT on April 10, 1990; Maulana Masoodi Dec. 13, 1990, Pir Mohd Sharif Oct. 1990, Hissamuddin Bandey June 4, 1991, Abdul Ahad Guru a Surgeon April 1993, Prof. Abdul Ahadwani Dec, 1993, Wali Mohammad Ittoo, speaker



of J&K Assembly March, 1994 and Qazi Nissar Ahmed - a religious leader June 1994.

In January 1998 militants killed 33 Kashmiri Pandits and taken many lives in Doda region. In July 1998 about 27 innocent Bihari workers were massacred in Chamba district, the eyes of Indian soldiers were gauged out, ears and private parts cut and several body parts burnt by the militants. Thus continued violence of the Pak support terrorists, often barbaric in nature, generally led to a stragging magnitude of deaths and devatious and blatant violation of Human Rights in J&K.

### Killing in Terrorist violence in J&K 1988-1994

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994 (till March)	Total
Total killed	31	92	1177	1393	1909	2567	648	7817
SF Personnel	1	13	132	185	177	216	68	792
Govt. Officials	1	3	62	57	36	34	11	204
Top Political Leaders	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	4
Politicians	-	3	24	10	4	8	1	50
Judiciary	-	3	1	1	-	1	-	6
Pressman	-	-	2	1	1	1	-	5
Hindus	-	6	177	45	67	87	14	396



Muslims	28	64	573	456	706	841	231	2899
Sikhs	-	-	6	12	10	7	-	35
			16	12	35	40	22	125

### HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

#### Pakistani Terrorists Atrocities Against civilians in Jammu & Kashmir

<u>The civilians killed</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>uptil sept. 2002</u>	<u>From 1989 to</u> <u>ending sept. 2002</u>
<u>in</u>	931	665	10,089.

#### Human Rights

inside and outside the state also tried to tarnish the image of Indian and state govt. malign security and para military forces and inflict major damage on the secular traditions of our nation by raising issue of state sponsored terrorism and violation of Human Rights. Such cries have also been raised by some vested interests when the terrorists and their associates responsible for breach of law and order and spreading terrorism by killing of innocent people in the state have been met with retaliatory measures by the security. Even the NHRC continued to receive complaints alleging violations of Human Rights by the armed forces viz. custodial



deaths, rapes, molestation, tortures, and calculated assaults on Human dignity. Following NHRC's recommendations the army and BSF have also continued to keep the commission informed of their personnel who have been charged violating Human Rights.

The investigations of most of these complaints have however, revealed the lack of substance in them. In cases where the complaints have been substantiated and found true, stringent actions have been taken. For example by December 1993 action had been taken against 160 Armed personnel resulting in dismissal from service and imprisonment for 10 years. Moreover, various monitoring mechanisms have also been evolved to provide necessary checks and balance on state terrorism. Even the commanders of the security forces have been given strict instructions for respecting the Human Rights of the innocent civilians. The new units that replace the old one are properly brief.

No doubt, a bullet for a bullet is the accepted norm of dealing with modern terrorism. But the India security and para military forces have



been given strict instructions that under all circumstances all other options prior to the implementation of this norm must be explored, tried and offered. I do agree that these mechanisms still need to be strengthened further to preserve, protect and promote human rights and democratic values.

Those who show greater concerns about the violation of Human Rights of Terrorists should not forget that these terrorists have trampled the Human Rights of large number of innocent people. They should not forget that "there is no freedom which transcends freedom, there's no liberty which infringes liberty, there is no right which violates rights".

The people of J&K state belong to an old civilization and pluralistic society. They are peace loving people who believe in philosophy of brotherhood and secularism. The deep rooted respect for Human Rights by our people is in fact stems from our compassion, secularism, love, tolerance, non violence and attaching a great deal of importance to the dignity of mankind.



POLITICO-SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF WOMEN AND THE ROLE OF  
INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF WOMEN TILL 1945: A BRIEF APPRAISAL

Prof. Vidya Bhushan\*

Due to the impact of industrial revolution, the influence of the Code Napolian, the economic insecurity of man, the extension of male franchise and degradation of living and working conditions, the nineteenth century witnessed the most complete and degrading subjection of women in the history of mankind. In the first half of nineteenth century women had hardly any political rights, few legal rights, few moral, vocational, educational and cultural rights. All this led to the rise of a struggle for woman with men in all fields of politico-Socio-Economic and cultural life.

Beginning with the 19th century background, the struggle of women emancipation in 20th century has passed through different stages.

In the inception this struggle was in the form of the International Movement for women suffrage. As a result an International Women Suffrage Conference (IWSC) was held at Washington in February, 1902. It was decided that the 2nd meeting of the IWSC would be held in Berlin in 1904. At the same time a Committee of the three delegates prepared and presented a declaration of principles. The draft was discussed, debated, amended and adopted to be presented to the Berlin Conference. The Draft contained the following six clauses:

1. That men and women are born equally free and independent members of the human race; equally endowed with intelligence and ability, and equally entitled to the free exercise of their individual rights and liberty.
2. That the natural relation of the sexes is that of interdependence and cooperation, and that the repression of the



rights and liberty of sex inevitably works injury to the other, and hence to the whole race.

3. That in all lands, those laws, creeds, and customs which have tended to restrict women to a position of dependence; to discourage their education; to impede the development of their natural gifts, and to subordinate their individuality, have been based on false theories, and have produced an artificial and unjust relation of the sexes in modern society.
4. That self-government in the home and the States is the inalienable right of every normal adult, and the refusal of this right to women has resulted in social, legal, and economic injustice to them, and has also intensified the existing economic disturbances throughout the world.
5. That governments which impose taxes and laws upon their women citizens without giving them the right of consent or dissent, which is granted to men citizens, exercise an tyranny inconsistent with just government.
6. That the ballot is the only legal and permanent means of defending the rights to the "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" pronounced inalienable by the American Declaration of Independence, and accepted as inalienable by all civilised nations. In any representative form of government, therefore, women should be vested with all political rights and privileges of electors."

The second IWSC was, however, held in Berlin in June 1904. A large number of women from various European Countries attended. The delegates and representatives had given accounts of the progress that had been made in their respective committees in securing women's right to vote. The major achievement of the



Conference was the establishment on the firm basis of the International Women Suffrage Alliance. Moreover, the principles, formulated at Washington Conference were adopted.

The third Congress of the International Women Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) meet held at Copenhagen from 7th to 11th August 1906. Delegates from Women Suffrage Societies in twelve European Countries attended it. The main achievement of Copenhagen Conference was the starting of monthly official organ - JUS Suffragu - of the organisation. It satisfied the need of communicating the progress made towards women's suffrage to member countries.

The Fourth I.W.S.A Congress was held at Amsterdam in June 1908. The delegation and representatives of 21 Countries had attended it. The resolution at the Amsterdam Congress were largely concerned with the progress towards woman suffrage in various countries. The last resolution clearly stated that "the plain duty of women at the present hour is to secure the support and cooperation of all the forces favourable to women suffrage, without question as to their political or religious affiliations; to ask for the franchise on the terms as it is now or may be exercised by men, leaving any required extension to be decided by men and women together when both have equal voice, and power.

Another Congress of I.W.S.A. was held in London from 20th April to 2nd May 1909. It was attended by the delegates from all most all parts of the world. In all 21 resolutions were passed by the Congress. Most of them were expression of satisfactions at the progress made by the Alliance since its inception. The final resolution of the Amsterdam Congress



concerning with concentration on the main task of securing the franchise for women was re-affirmed. "An important addition introduced at this Congress was a bye-law which stated that the Alliance by mutual consent of its auxiliaries, stands pledged to observe absolute neutrality on all questions that are strictly national; to respect the independence of each affiliated association, and to leave it entirely free to act on all matters within its own country."

The Sixth Congress of IWSA was held at Stockholm in June 1911 in which the delegates and representatives of 24 countries participated. The Constitution of the alliance was revised at this Congress. The name and objectives of the Alliance remained the same, but there were several new provisions for membership, one being to meeting the conditions existing in oriental countries "where no woman suffrage organisation exists, because the status of women renders woman suffrage agitation impracticable"

Just before the outbreak of 1st World War the IWSA delivered a manifesto to the Foreign offices and foreign embassies in London on behalf of 26 countries and 12 million women calling upon governments to avert the threatened unparalleled disaster. The manifesto laid down that "the fate of Europe depends on decisions which women have no power to shape." As war could not be averted IWSA offered its services for the relief of suffering caused by the war.

After the termination of war the central committee of the Union 'Fran caise Pour le suffrage des Femmes' decided to invite to a Conference in Paris delegates of Allied Countries affiliated to the International Women Suffrage Alliance with the purpose of obtaining consideration of the



position of the women in the world and of representative of women at the Peace Conference. The Conference was held at the Lyceum Club in Paris from 10th to 16th February. President, who received the delegates, fully approved of the the representative of Women's interest at the Peace Conference and proposed the appointment of a Special Commission of Plenipotentiaries to inquire into the report upon those questions of interest to women which were of International importance. Even the Supreme war Council of the Allies decided in favour of the Course proposed by President Wilson. However, the resolutions submitted later on covered the moral, political and educational aspects of Women's life. Those on moral status of women sought.

1. "To suppress the sale of women and children.
2. To respect and apply the principle of woman's liberty to dispose of herself in marriage.
3. To suppress the traffic in women, girls, and children of both sexes, and its corollary, the licensed house of ill fame."

The political resolutions were:

1. "That the principle of woman suffrage should be proclaimed by the Peace Conference and the League of Nations so that it may be applied all over the world as soon as the degree of civilisation and democratic development of each nation shall permit."
2. That in all plebiscites to decide the nationality of a state women as well as ~~xxxx~~men should be called upon to pronounce on the fate of their country."

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On the subject of education it was recommended:

1. "That an international commission or a permanent international bureau of education should be provided for and included in the Peace Treaty.
2. That women whose rôle is every day more active in the educational sphere, should be called to sit on this commission or bureau on the same terms as men."

The Commission ultimately granted the request of the delegations for women to take their place with men in the ~~XXIX~~ League of Nations. Even Article 7(3) of the Covenant stated that "all positions under or in connection with the league, including the secretaries, shall be open equally to men and women." While Art. 23(a) is concerned with "With fair and human conditions of Labour for men, women and children and Art. 23(c) with the supervision over the executive of agreement with regard to the traffic in women and children.

In the first Post-War Congress held Geneva in June 1920 a new charter of women's rights was agreed. It contained:-

#### I. Political Rights

1. That the suffrage be granted to women, and their equal status with men upon legislative and administrative bodies, both national and international, be recognised.

#### II. Personal Rights:

- 1 That women, equally with men, should have the protection of the law against slavery such as still exists in some parts of Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa.
2. That a married woman should have the same right to retain or change her nationality as a man.



### III. Domestic Rights:

1. That on marriage a woman should have full personal and civil rights, including the right to the use and disposal of her own earnings and property, and that she should not be under the tutelage of her husband.
2. That the married mother should have the same rights over her children as the father.
3. That the children of widows, if left without provision, should have the right to maintenance by the State, such maintenance to be paid to the mother as guardian.
4. That research as for the father of a child born out of wedlock should be authentic; that such a child should have the same right to maintenance and education from the father during the period of dependency as a legitimate child, and that an unmarried mother, during the period when she is incapacitated, should also have the right of being maintained by the father of her child.

### IV. Educational and Economic Rights:

1. That all opportunities of education, general, professional, and technical, should be open to both sexes.
2. That women should have the same opportunity as men for training and for entering industries, professions, civil service, and all administrative and judicial functions.
3. That women should receive the same pay as men for the same work.
4. That the right to work of both married and unmarried women be recognised; that no special regulations for women's work, different from regulations for men, should be imposed contrary to the wishes of the women themselves; that laws relative to women as mothers should be so



framed as not to handicap them in their economic position, and that all future labour regulations should tend towards equality of men and women.

#### V. Moral Rights:

1. That a higher moral standard, equal for men and women, should be recognised; that the traffic in women should be suppressed; the regulation of vice and all laws and practices differentiating against women, or any class of women, in this matter be abolished."

Other resolutions were concerned with Prostitution and Venereal Disease; the Economic Crisis; the Deportation of Women and Children, and matters concerned with the operation of the Alliance.

The next Congress of the IWSA <sup>was</sup> held in Rome in the Spring of 1923 with Mussolini as the patron of the Congress. The first three resolutions at the Rome Congress were concerned with furthering women suffrage, international relations and the League of Nations. The fourth resolution was concerned mainly with women's right to work and equal pay for equal work.

Forty two countries were represented at the Tenth Congress of the International Women Suffrage Alliance held at the Sorbonne in Paris in 1926. The resolutions regarding women's suffrage, like conditions of work for men and women, equal moral standard and against traffic in women, unmarried mother and her child, the Nationality of Married women appointment of Permanent Peace Committees were adopted. The Congress was followed by a meeting at Geneva in ~~xxx~~ September 1923. The resolutions adopted at Paris for a permanent peace committee ~~xx~~ was implemented by ~~xxx~~ establishing the League of Nations.



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At the meeting in Prague in May-June 1927 a proposal for the Committee for peace and League of Nations to hold a study Conference held at Amsterdam in November 1927, and it was attended by ninety representatives.

The Berlin Jubilee Congress held from 17th to 24th June 1929 was one of the most successful ever held by the Alliance. At this Congress 18 resolutions were adopted beginning with a restatement of policy which contained main points of five of the principal subsequent resolutions. There were the Women Suffrage, Peace and League of Nations, Economic Rights of Women, their proposal and Legal Rights.

The main activities of the Women's Political, Social and Economic organisation through out the world in the early thirties were directed to maintenance of peace and to disarmament. In the period between two wars, the western world experienced a series of economic bouons and depressions. The depression had a disruptive effect on the social life of most of the countries such as large scale unemployment with its miseries, curtailment of numerous valuable social and cultural activities.

Firstly, there was a boon immediately after the first world war i.e. from 1919 to 1920. This was followed by a slump from 1921 to 1923. Then there was a period of steady economic progress and reconstruction from 1923 to 1929. It was followed by the very severe depression of 1930 to 1935.

However, after the very successful Berlin Congress of the International Alliance of Women in 1929, economic reconstruction seemed to hold hopes of progress. In such circumstances the IAW started preparations for its Congress in April 1931 at Athens. But it was cancelled by the Alliance board which met

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at Geneva in September 1931 because of adverse economic conditions. Thirty one affiliated societies were represented at the Congress held at Istanbul in 1935. The President of the Congress of the Congress referred a double task confronting women of the world -- freedom for women and peace for mankind. Twenty resolutions were ultimately adopted at the Congress. The first was the general declaration of Principles. The reformulated Principal were :

1. "Political Rights: That in all states, whatever their system of government, women should possess full, free and identical rights of citizenship with men.
2. Economic Rights: That the right to work of all women be recognised and no obstacles placed in the way of married women who desire to work; that all avenues of work should be open to women and that education for professions and traders should be available for women on the same terms as for men; that all professions and posts in the public service should be open to men and women, with equal opportunities for advancement; that women should receive the same pay as men for the same work."

The resolutions covered a wide variety of subjects such as East-West Cooperation; child marriage and its dangers, to the health, peace; the nationality and Acquisition of Nationality, representative to the League of Nations, like conditions of work for women; civil status of women etc. All the resolutions adopted at the Istanbul Congress were sent to the League of Nations.

The board of the Alliance once again met in Amsterdam in May 1936 to discuss the question of the status of women and the prospective action by the League of Nations. The discussion



was continued at the board meeting in Brussels in September 1936. It was stressed that: "In 1937 we shall know what is the civil and political status of women in all countries, through an inquiry by the League. It is the first time in human history that a world assembly has wanted to get a clear picture of the rights and disabilities, the triumphs and the defects of women. What that picture is going to be we do not yet know, but if it is good it will encourage us to use our power for the solution of the appalling problems of the present time."

The Council of the League of Nations was asked to appoint a Committee of expert of both men and women to study the many questions relating to the Status of women, and the committee should seek the advice and cooperation of competent scientific institution and that "it should have power to consult women's International Organisations and invite their cooperation in any form which it thinks advisable." The financial provisions were also made by the League for the Committee of experts in October 1937.

At its first meeting of the League of Nations Committee of experts the representatives of women's organisations were invited to meet and discuss. Nine months later on 7th January 1939, the Committee of experts on the status of Women invited representatives of the Womens International Organisations to a Conference to discuss the progress of the enquiry.

There was, however, plan to hold three more Conference in late thirties i.e. the first at Zurich, in March 1937, the second at Warsaw in September 1937 and the third at Stockholm in October 1938. But due to uncertainty in Europe only first Conference could be held. Several resolutions on the subjects



like <sup>as to</sup> how can nations ensure their freedom and independence, democracy and women suffrage, women's work and unemployment were formulated and agreed. The Conference declared that:

1. "All educational establishments should be open to women on the same terms as to men, with an equal right to employment on the teaching staff for both sexes, and the same ~~xxxxxxx~~ diploma for both the sexes. Professional and Vocational training for both sexes should be developed, and should be available under the same conditions and with the same examinations for men and women.
2. All forms of work, shall be open to women, married or not, under the same conditions of salary and promotion as for men.
3. All women engaged in paid work should belong to professional organisations and should work within them for the common interests of the members of their professions, with equal rights and responsibilities as men.

The next Congress of the International Women Alliance was held in x Copenhagen in July 1939. Fifteen resolutions ~~wxxx~~ on the various subjects were adopted. However, the World War II had adverse effect on this movement also. Many prominent women workers of the Alliance died during the ~~thex~~ war years.

While summing up I may say that the question of the Status of women occupied much of the time of the International Women Organisations in collaboration with the League of Nations and its Expert Committee in the late thirties. In fact International Alliance of women, worked very closely with the League of Nations in furthering its main objective 'Improvement of the Status of Women throughout the world since World War I. For that purpose in view, it had established an office in Geneva largely for liaison with the League. It had thus, contributed a lot in its struggle



against the male dominated and male oriented society and to change men out look toward women folk. IAW has always distinguished among international associations for being essentially far-seeing and progressive in its attitude to the improvement of the status of women in society in pre world war 2nd. Much that that had been achieved by them in the matter of the equality of the sexes was advocated by IAW long ago. IAS has, met special success in projecting and securing the rights of women in the fields like employment, education, the nationality of married women and of women's activities in relation to her traditional domestic vocation and thus, to enhance ~~the~~ the Politico-Socio-Economic Status of women during the period under discussion.

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